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TABLE 1. Mitochondrial DNA polymorphisms in prehistoric Easter Islanders, compared with the human mtDNA reference sequence. The three base substitutions at positions 16217, 16247 and 16261, and the 9 base pair deletion, are typical of Polynesians.

Sample	mtDNA position					9 base pair deletion
	16217	16247	16261	16271	16292	
Reference sequence ¹	T	A	C	T	C	-
"Polynesian haplotype" ²	C	G	T			+
Prehistoric Easter Islanders						
Ahu Tepeu (1100-1680)						
29967	C	G	T	*	*	+
29970	C	G	T	C	*	+
29972	C	G	T	*	*	+
29992	C	G	T	*	*	+
Ahu Vinapu (1680-1868)						
29932	C	G	T	*	*	+
29940	C	G	T	*	T	+
29941	C	G	T	*	T	+
29942	C	G	T	*	*	+
29943	C	G	T	*	*	+
29944	C	G	T	*	*	+
29947	C	G	T	*	*	+
29950	C	G	T	*	*	+

1 Anderson *et al.* 1981

2 Hagelberg & Clegg 1993

A Final Reply to Langdon

Paul Bahn and John Flenley

There is little that we can usefully add to Erika Hagelberg's response, and we will therefore limit ourselves to a few salient points.

1) Langdon has misread our earlier reply—we never claimed that he had ignored the likelihood of a European ship visiting the island before Roggeveen. All we said was that he had ignored the fact that we ourselves mention such a likelihood on p.13 of our book (see *RNJ* 8(1):11).

2) In our earlier reply we clearly set out the arguments—which we consider very sound—in favor of the view that de Olaondo's unique and bizarre testimony about maize and white potatoes is highly untrustworthy; we prefer Forster as a botanical observer, and it seems to us extremely unlikely that

he would have missed cassava. Langdon persists in placing his faith in the completely untrained de Olaondo, and clearly nothing we can say will alter his wishful thinking on this matter. We can only agree to disagree.

3) We are bemused by Langdon's *modus operandi*, his constant reliance on assumption and, especially, on "odds" and spurious percentages: for example, why assume that half of every crew had sex with young women or that 10% of such sailors were Basques? Why not vice versa, or 100% and 20% respectively? It is intriguing that he does not also calculate the odds of the crops reported by de Olaondo (and presumably grown for many centuries by supposed Amerindians on the island) suddenly "falling out of cultivation" in the four years before Forster arrived!

4) Finally, as Erika Hagelberg has pointed out, Langdon has been left high and dry by the Heyerdahl camp. Heyerdahl, as Langdon emphasizes, has always insisted that Amerindians were the island's only inhabitants until Polynesians arrived towards the end of the Middle Period; he

has always accepted that the later islanders--source of all skeletal material--were Polynesian. Now, however, after analysis of the excavation results from Anakena, the coin has flipped over, and Skjølsvold (1994:115) argues that Polynesians were the first colonizers and the Amerindians came later! Quite how Heyerdahl will square this with his previous position remains to be seen, but it clearly affects Langdon's scenario, since he must now presumably envisage 3 colonizations: first Polynesians, then Amerindians and finally Hispano-Polynesians who, in Langdon's dramatic vision, wiped out all the Amerindians with germs. Three

separate colonizations of an island that probably required a miracle to be colonized even once (to use odds and probabilities again) simply stagger the imagination. As with every point raised by Langdon, we prefer to apply Occam's razor and adopt the least complex solution, as set out in our book and our earlier reply.

Skjølsvold, A. 1994. *Archaeological investigations at Anakena, Easter Island*; The Kon-Tiki Museum Occasional Papers, Vol. 3:5-121.

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